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ABSTRACT

The results of a survey of 149 black and 258 white Northwestern University alumni who graduated between 1970 and 1973 are presented in this report. The survey focused on the academic and social experiences of black and white students during an era in which blacks were first admitted in significant numbers to a previously all-white elite institution. First, the socioeconomic backgrounds of the respondents are compared by race. Then blacks and whites are compared by self reports of their academic experiences while at Northwestern. Academic major, grades received, and evaluations of their prior academic preparation are included in this discussion. An examination of race relations on campus follows. The extent and types of black-white interracial contact and of intraracial interaction (among blacks) are separately analyzed. The extent of interracial rooming among respondents during their years at Northwestern is also described. In terms of post-college experience, respondents' indications about their desires for interracial social contact after college and data on post graduate schooling and initial jobs of blacks and whites are reviewed. Finally, the current ambience of Northwestern is described with an emphasis on normative conflict and the influence of American achievement and status norms.
(Author/GC)

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Northwestern University's Recent Alumni: In Black and White

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Northwestern University's Recent Alumni: In Black And White

During the latter part of the sixties, a change of unprecedented dimensions began to take place in the student body composition of major, predominantly white colleges and universities. Northwestern University, like a number of other prestige institutions of higher learning, liberalized its admissions policy. More Catholics and Jews were admitted and more students were provided with financial aid to help meet the rapidly rising cost of tuition. The most dramatic change of all was the recruitment and admission of significant numbers of non-athletic black students. From 26 American blacks in 1966, black enrollment has increased to approximately 650 -- nearly 10% of the undergraduate enrollment.

This report presents a survey of recent Northwestern alumni, those who graduated between 1970 and 1973. A total of 407 respondents, 149 blacks and 258 whites, provide the data for this study.

Interest in these alumni stems from the fact that their undergraduate participation at Northwestern helped to initiate a historically significant era in American life. Recruited in a period of widespread black militance stressing group solidarity, the black respondents in this survey are among the initial products of a nation-wide concerted attempt to rapidly create a special category of black graduates whose talent, ambition and prestigious educational pedigrees are expected to move them beyond the job ceilings and separate job markets which traditionally have affected all blacks. That is to say, liberal policy-makers are attacking the structure of race subordination by attempting to sponsor the mobility of academically talented blacks who had heretofore been overlooked or excluded. White respondents in this survey are significant because they represent the first cohort of prestigiously educated whites who have had to share their universities and career options with more

than a handful of the black minority.

The report covers several areas of interest. First, the socioeconomic backgrounds of respondents are compared by race. Second, blacks and whites are compared by self-reports of their academic experience while at Northwestern. This is followed by a third section that deals with race relations on campus during this period. The first part of this section surveys types and extent of interracial contact involving blacks and whites. A second part of this section surveys types and extent of intraracial interaction among blacks on campus. These two discussions are followed by data on the extent of interracial rooming, and respondents' indications about the felt desirability for interracial social contact after the college experience.

The fourth and fifth sections of the report present data on the post graduate schooling and initial jobs of black and white respondents. The sixth and final section discusses the interim effects of this project in sponsoring black access to an elite school.

The Sampling Procedure

A mail questionnaire was sent to every black graduate of this four year period (1970-1973). The total of 149 usable questionnaires represents 70% of the 212 black graduates, and approximately 51% (292) of blacks who enrolled in the university between 1966 and 1969. Our figures for the percentage of blacks who have graduated from NU are similar to the figures collected by the Office of Admissions -- that 70-80% earned Northwestern degrees. The white sample was chosen by generating a computer list of alumni from those years who graduated in Arts and Sciences, Music, Speech, Education and Journalism, parts of the University where black undergraduate enrollment was expected. Once the black sampling distribution among these schools was known, then two white names were chosen for every black who was to receive a

questionnaire. Out of 450 questionnaires mailed to white alumni, a total of 259 usable ones were returned (58%).

Blacks and whites received somewhat different questionnaires. The black version was twenty pages long, and included virtually every item presented to white respondents. The white version was only fourteen pages long, and did not include items relating to participation in racial activism and several attitude scaling items relevant to the rise in race consciousness among blacks in the late sixties and early seventies. The great majority of questionnaires were sent out during July and August of 1974. The last of the questionnaires was returned by December of the same year.

The relatively high return rates (for mail questionnaires, return rates of less than 30% are common) reflect two different research strategies. White respondents received only one mailing. The only encouragement offered them was the written assurance that we did not represent the Alumni Office or the Office of Financial Aid and that we were making no attempt to identify the names of those who respond. Black respondents were fewer in number, and therefore we couldn't rely upon the return rate that might result if they received only the written assurances mailed to white respondents. The exceptionally high return rate for the black sample was encouraged through extensive use of telephone contact with respondents and their families both before and after the initial mailing. At least a third of the 149 were located through friendship networks that were accessible to either the researchers personally or to black undergraduates currently enrolled and supportive of the research.

A sizable minority of black respondents were reluctant to cooperate. Consider the note sent to Professor Pitts by one black woman who filled out a questionnaire:

Dear Jim---

Sorry it has taken me so long to fill this out, but I've been busy. Also I'm reluctant to give out so much info and had to decide whether I wanted to do it.

At any rate, I'd be interested to know how you're going to use this, and why you decided to deal with this anyway. If this info turns up in a strange place I'll personally seek you out with the intent to do personal damage to your body. Even though I like you, your wife, and your son. You understand, I'm sure, and I'm not joking...

I enjoyed filling out the questionnaire, despite what I've said, and it would be good (interesting) for you to use this questionnaire as a basis for some interviews with the respondents, so that you can get a fuller picture of what's happening.

peace/joy

P.S. If you're in the neighborhood we should have lunch or something...

As the note suggests, the researchers have known many of the black respondents as friends. Pitts was an undergraduate at Northwestern from 1961 through 1966. He started graduate work in sociology in the Fall of that year just as the 1970 graduates were entering as Freshmen. During that 1966-67 year he got to know many of them and began systematic study of their adjustment to the predominantly white campus and to each other. In 1967, Kathy Ogletree began her Freshman year at Northwestern. She and Pitts were among the several undergraduate and graduate students who initiated For Members Only- A Black Student Alliance. Ogletree became President of FMO by Winter quarter 1968. She stepped down from that leadership role after her Freshman year.

The personal experience of attending Northwestern and participating in black student activism explains our interest in doing this research. Pitts began to study the social norms of the University environment while he was an undergraduate on athletic scholarship and the first black person activated into one of NU's white fraternities. He was active in Theta Delta Chi for

almost five years. His senior year research paper on black student adjustment to a white oriented campus community laid the groundwork for studying the larger numbers of blacks who entered in the Fall.

Ogletree and Pitts came together on this research project in early 1974 when Dean of Admissions William Ihlanfeldt mentioned that his office was interested in assessing what had become of the first cohorts of black undergraduates recruited by them. Pitts had just completed a manuscript (Journal of Black Studies, 1975: 277-319) on the politicalization of Northwestern black students between 1966 and 1969. Ogletree was writing a doctoral proposal designed to study social psychological dispositions (an individual's beliefs concerning their ability to control their circumstances) among black students. A grant from the Wieboldt Foundation of Greater Chicago paid for the expenses of the research. An earlier Wieboldt grant had underwritten the expenses of the Northwestern University Chicago Action Program in the summers of 1966, 1967, and 1968, a program of academic and social adjustment for black (and a few lower income white) Freshmen from Chicago who were to enroll at Northwestern in the Fall quarters of those years.

The authors of this report wish to express their thanks to the Wieboldt Foundation, Northwestern's Office of Admissions and the Office of Alumni Relations for their substantial contributions to making the research possible. Moreover, we feel a particular gratitude to the respondents, who patience and trust have made it possible to shed some light on their experiences of a difficult era.

Profile: Academic and Family Resources in Black and White

Inequality produces differences in resources that are available to families and individuals. Higher education reflects the basic inequalities of the society. Every tax payer contributes to higher education, but not everyone is really expected or encouraged to get the same level or quality of schooling. Data presented here describe the similarities and differences in black and white respondents' resources for coping with the academic and financial challenge of making it at Northwestern.

At the time of the survey (1974) 75% of both race samples were between the ages of 24 and 26 and had never been married. Sixty percent of the respondents in each sample are female. The respondents were generally born in the North, a region traditionally distinguished from the South by higher levels of education among citizens generally, and fewer political restrictions on black education. About 32% of blacks and only 7% of whites were born in the South. Of those blacks born in the South, less than half completed their high school there. Only 14% of the black respondents came to NU from southern high schools.

Over 80% of both black and white respondents report that they ranked within the top ten percent of their high school graduating classes. This indicates that the two groups entered college with similar levels of high expectation to achieve in academic competition. This information accords with that provided by the Office of Admissions in a January 1974 document, "A Report on Freshman Admission at Northwestern." Furthermore, according to that report, the median standardized test scores of Northwestern's black Freshmen (1966-1974) place them among the top one or two percent of black Americans entering college. The similarity in the overall academic resources of black and white

alumni can be overstated. We did not collect self-reports on college entrance examination scores, but it is generally recognized that race and higher, (Boyd, 1974) socio-economic status tend to correspond with higher test scores. Although there is considerable variation in testing performance among whites admitted to Northwestern, white Freshmen will often score as much as 100 points higher than black Freshmen in the same area of study.

The basis for such differences and similarities in black and white academic preparation show up when their socio-economic family backgrounds are compared. Both represent the middle class, but there are notable differences in which levels of the middle class are represented. Whites who attended NU came overwhelmingly from managerial and professionally employed families. Almost 75% of the whites (Table I) but only 35% of the blacks had at least one parent professionally employed. A 1973 Northwestern University Department of Planning report on Freshman attributes shows that forty to fifty percent of those entering between 1967 and 1971 report their fathers' occupation as businessman.

Table 1

Family Background of Black and White Alumni

	Black	White
Father's Occupation		
Professional or Business	24	71
Skilled	27	13
Semi-Skilled	29	13
Laborer	17	2
Not in Labor Force	3	--
Mother's Occupation		
Professional or Business	24	20
Skilled	6	4
Semi-Skilled	24	17
Laborer	15	2
Not in Labor Force	31	57
Father's Education		
Grade School	19	4
Some High School	16	9
High School Graduate	26	20
Some College	18	15
College Graduate	9	26
Advanced Degree	12	26
Mother's Education		
Grade School	7	2
Some High School	21	6
High School Graduate	30	34
Some College	22	23
College Graduate	11	23
Advanced Degree	8	8
Family Income		
Under 10,000	47	15
$10,000 -$19,999	44	45
$20,000 -$29,999	6	19
$30,000 and above	4	22

Parents of black respondents were most likely to be lower status (teachers, administrators, professionals and skilled laborers. Laborers are almost non-existent among white parents, but are almost twenty percent for blacks. For black families, both parents were much more likely to be working. While only 31% of the black respondents reported that their mothers were "not in the labor force", 57% or almost twice as many white respondents indicated that their mothers did not work.

The parents of whites who attended NU were generally better educated than the parents of blacks, but not to the extent suggested by the occupational differences. Three-fourths of the white respondents and half of the black respondents report at least one parent who had attended college. Although the black parents were better educated than most American adults, black or white, the table indicates that the parents of white respondents were twice as likely to have completed college and twice as likely to have received an advanced degree.

In spite of both parents working, the reported family income of the black respondents was generally less than that of the white respondents. Table 1 shows that almost half of the black respondents report family incomes less than $10,000 compared to only 15% of the white respondents. In contrast 41% of the whites and only 10% of the blacks report family incomes over $20,000. The table shows, however, that approximately 45% of both black families and white families earned between $10,000 and $20,000 per year.

Profile: Academic Majors and Grades at Northwestern

Black alumni were largely concentrated in the social sciences and the School of Speech. As Table II indicates, almost forty percent of black respondents had social science majors. White alumni are represented in a

greater range of majors. Almost a third of white respondents majored in the humanities, and a fourth majored in mathematics, business, or the physical sciences, fields of study that are least open to those who have not acquired early and cummulative training in formal skills. Only two percent of white respondents majored in the social sciences.

Blacks were almost three times as likely to be in the School of Speech. Areas of speciality among speech majors were, however, diverse, ranging from Speech Pathology, theatre, and film, and radio and television broadcasting.

Studies of black college graduates generally, and of those who have graduated from traditionally black colleges in particular, typically show education to be the most popular major. This data from Northwestern suggests that the better trained black students, in schools that offer a wide range of alternatives, may more often choose a major other than education.

Table II

College Majors of Black and White Alumni

College Major	Black	White
Speech	16	6
Social Sciences	37	2
Life Sciences	2	15
Physical Sciences/Mathematics/Business	12	26
Humanities	7	31
Education	14	6
Journalism	10	12
Music	1	--

This shift away from teaching may reflect black respondents' perception that blacks are no longer restricted to this area. It may also reflect, however, a general awareness that with the passing of the "baby boom" of which these graduates were a part, the teaching market is not as open as it once was. It is interesting to note, however, that blacks were nevertheless

twice as likely as whites to major in education.

How well did these black alumni perform academically at the undergraduate level? We suggested earlier that black students entered NU with similar expectations for continued success in their academic endeavors as their white counterparts. An analysis of final grade point averages of black respondents from official university records indicates that the average graduate had C+ or B- averages. Forty-nine percent of the respondents had final grade point averages between 2.5 and 2.99 on a four point scale. Twenty-five percent of them graduates with an average of 3.0 or better, while the remaining 26% had a final grade point average between 2.0 and 2.49.

We do not have comparable data on the white alumni, but available evidence would suggest that they generally received much better grades. It seems that since the late 1960's, NU has experienced a complete reversal in its traditional grading pattern. Once the largest percentage of grades given out was C; now it is A (Daily Northwestern, May 28, 1975, pg. 13). According to a Planning Department report entitled "Statistical and Faculty Summaries 1974-75," 40.2 percent of all grades given spring quarter in 1974 were A's. This compares to only 25% A's in fall quarter 1960.

Northwestern is not the only institution to have experienced what has been termed "grade inflation." The phenomenon has been nation-wide, and there has been considerable debate about why it has occurred. The irony of it in the Northwestern situation is that it seems to have disproportionally benefited white students. As A's became more accessible to whites, many blacks were struggling for C's and B's.

The Freshman year was particularly problematic for blacks. Approximately one-third of the black alumni indicated that they were on academic probation (more than one grade of less than C places one on probation) during their first year at Northwestern. Almost 45% experienced academic probation at some time or other before graduating. In contrast, only 7% of the white respondents were on academic probation and less than 10% report ever receiving a grade of less than C.

How then can we account for the different grading outcomes for blacks and whites? The most widely advanced explanation of the academic trauma that a large number of black students experienced is the gap between their lower middle class, ghetto backgrounds and the demands of an elite private universtiy. Furthermore, it is generally argued that these black students were not as academically prepared as the white students who attended N.U. We explored this issue by asking the respondents the following question: "Do you feel that you were prepared to meet the academic challenges at Northwestern?" The answers in Table III indicate that black alumni felt "reasonably prepared" for Northwestern, but generally acknowledged that they were less prepared than their white peers. With explicit reference to whites at Northwestern, only 37% of them felt as well or better prepared. However 63% of the white alumni felt as well or better prepared than their fellow classmates.

Table III

Responses to: "Did you feel that you were prepared to meet the academic challenges at Northwestern?" (In percent)

Responses	Black	White
No, I felt totally unprepared	17	8
I felt reasonably prepared	46	29
I felt prepared as my (white/fellow) classmates	30	43
I felt better prepared than my (white/fellow) classmates	7	20

What is apparent though is that changes in the grading norms at Northwestern produced very different mirror images of academic self worth for black as opposed to white respondents. We can safely presume that most black and white respondents entered Northwestern expecting to achieve at least a B average (Department of Planning reports indicate that at least 60% of NU Freshmen in any given year have this expectation) but the grading standards that emerged in the late sixties tended to affirm the academic self-esteem of whites and to challenge that of blacks.

Another factor which may have influenced the grading outcomes for black and white alumni was their grade consciousness. Given their differences in socio-economic backgrounds, and different experiences adjusting to the N.U. academic and social environment, we hypothesized that they might be exposed to different peer emphasis on getting "A's". Respondents were asked to estimate the percentage of students who continuously tried to achieve "above a B average." Black respondents were asked to refer to black students; white respondents were asked to refer to students generally.

Table IV

Respondents Estimation of the Percentage of Students who Continuously Tried to Achieve Above a B Average.

	Black	White
Less than 25%	36	10
25% to 49%	37	40
50% to 75%	20	40
Over 75%	6	10

Table IV shows that whites are more likely to report a peer environment oriented to getting an A average. Fully a half of the white respondents estimate that 50% or more of their peers "continuously tried to achieve above a B average." Only 26% of the black alumni estimate that a majority of their black peers had the same grade orientation. Additional indication of black-white differences in the degree of peer group pressure related to grades comes from responses to: "How would you rate peer pressure to achieve academically?" The answer alternatives offered to respondents (table not shown) were: "Non-Existing," "Moderate," "Considerable," and "Excessive." Most respondents (69% of blacks and 57% of whites) indicated moderate peer pressure. Hardly anyone used the adjective "excessive." Blacks were somewhat more likely (23% compared to 16%) to say that peer pressure was "non-existent;" whites were much more likely (23% compared to 8%) to report that peer pressure was "considerable."

Table V shows that the great majority of all respondents feel that the faculty generally evaluated their work objectively. Black alumni, however,

are less convinced of this than white alumni. Fifteen percent of blacks and whites feel that faculty "were not as critical" of their work as they should have been. The significant difference between black and white appraisals is in the fact that one in every five blacks but virtually none of the whites feels that faculty were generally "more citical" of their work than was reasonable.

Table V

Respondents' Perception of Faculty Evaluation of Work (In Percent)

	Black	White
"Evaluated your work objectively"	65	76
"Were not as critical of your work as they should have been	15	21
"More critical of your work than called for"	20	2

Alumni who question the objectivity of the faculty were additionally asked if they felt that factors such as race or ethnicity (see Table VI) might have influenced faculty evaluation of their work. Fifty-two black alumni were eligible to answer their version of the question directed at the perception of race discrimination. Twenty-nine of them answered "yes", and all but one of the remaining twenty-three say that they are "unsure". Only sixty-two whites feel that faculty generally did not evaluate their work objectively, and of these fifty-six feel that factors other than ethnicity were involved. White respondents who question faculty standards were also given the opportunity to indicate if they feel that gender was an influence. Only nine persons say "yes", and another seven feel it might be involved in their evaluations. In short, the minority of blacks who

question the general fairness of faculty evaluations of their work are strongly inclined to see race as a systemic influence. The minority of whites who question how faculty generally graded them seldom perceive ethnicity or gender as factors influencing their evaluations.

Table VI

Responses to: "If you feel that your work was not objectively evaluated, do you feel that your race/ethnicity was a factor in this?" (In percent)

Responses	Black	White
Yes, I do	57	4
I'm unsure	41	6
No, other factors involved	2	90

Total number of respondents answering this question: 52 blacks
62 whites

The issue of faculty evaluation of students' academic performance was further explored at a nonpersonal level through the following question: "Do you feel that the faculty generally evaluated the performance of black students differently than the performance of white students?" There is, of course, no way to make this question an indicator of actual faculty behavior. Nor is it possible to assume that persons perceiving different treatment necessarily have an accurate picture of typical grades received by blacks and whites.

Table VII shows that faculty evaluation of black students relative to whites is a subject about which many respondents have "mixed impressions." About half of each sample feels this way. Nearly as many whites (43%) however, feel that the same standards were generally used; in contrast

only 10% of blacks agree. The 32% of blacks who are convinced that blacks and whites were generally evaluated differently is intriguing because black respondents are generally sure that their own work was objectively evaluated.

Table VII

Responses to: "Do you feel that the faculty generally evaluated the performances of black students differently than the performance of white students?" (In percent)

Responses	Black	White
Yes	32	9
I have mixed impressions	58	48
No same standards generally used	10	43

The extent to which faculty may have taken race into account (to the benefit or detriment of black grades) cannot be measured with our survey data. We know that black students' entrance into predominently white university classrooms in the late sixties resulted in normative conflicts in a variety of disciplines. In many of the arts and humanities, peoples of African descent were typically overlooked; and a good number of faculty seriously questioned whether the various people of African descent had "accomplished anything" worthy of scholarly attention. The most prevalent social science approach to the study of black Americans relegated them (and still does) to "social pathology" -- an approach that many NU blacks found demeaning. Those NU black students convinced of faculty ethnocentrism or racist behavior sometimes pointedly challenged faculty evaluation or scholarship of which they disapproved. Given the imbalance in power between faculty and students, a good number of black students did not.

Respondent Reports of Academic Enjoyment and Personal Benefit

People attend college because they expect to benefit from it. At a minimum, they expect to benefit in the labor market by gaining access to certain activities and levels of rewards reserved for persons who have acquired a certain level of schooling. Most also expect to benefit from and to enjoy the academic experience per se. Data presented in the following two tables indicate how respondents feel about these two distinct issues: 1) their enjoyment of their studies; and 2) their perceptions of personal benefit derived from NU academic resources and other aspects of undergraduate life.

As Table VIII shows, 57% of black alumni indicated varying degrees of disappointment, when asked, "Did you enjoy your studies in college as much as you had expected to?" Sixty-five percent of white alumni expressed some measure of satisfaction with their studies, but only 43% of blacks reported that they were "reasonably satisfied" or enjoyed their studies "more than they had expected."

Table VIII

Responses to: "Did you enjoy your studies in college as much as you had expected to?" (In percent)

	Black	White
Less than Expected	32	14
Mildly Disappointed	25	21
Reasonably Satisfied	33	47
More than Expected	10	18

One of the reasons for differing levels of satisfaction is obvious. Students who are typically getting A's and B's usually get more enjoyment from their studies than those who are fighting to get off probation and to rise toward a B average.

Data presented in Table IX, however, suggest that this black-white difference in enjoyment may be due to more than different levels of individual academic success. The overall pattern of percentages in this table indicates that white students generally were less attuned to political issues than were black students; and that learning and social activities directed by white faculty and students typically drew more approval from white alumni than from their black peers. Questionnaire items used to elicit these responses are presented along the left margin and are grouped under three headings: 1) academic community-formal; 2) academic community-informal; and 3) social life on campus. Respondents' answers are grouped according to their estimates of "Little," "Moderate," and "Substantial Benefit" on a particular item and are compared by race.

The personal benefit estimates of black and white alumni are most similar in areas clearly related to the academic-intellectual life of the University and least similar in the areas of student social life and issue orientation. Nearly ninety percent of white respondents estimate that they derived moderate to substantial benefit from faculty teaching, but the majority feel that they benefited little from faculty scholarship, and "interaction with administrators" received least approval among items related to academic benefit. Black responses to these items, (as well as that concerning opportunities for independent study) form a similar pattern. Blacks are not quite as enthusiastic about faculty teaching, but even here nearly eighty percent attest to moderate or substantial benefit.

Estimation of benefit derived from speakers sponsored by political organizations on campus offers the first example of divergent patterns of response. White respondents answered to an item which read, "Events and speakers sponsored

Table IX

Estimate of Personal Benefit Derived From Selected Activities at NU: White and Black Alumni - 1970-1973 in Percent

	Blacks			Whites		
	Estimate of Personal Benefit			Estimate of Personal Benefit		
Academic Community-Formal	Little	Moderate	Substantial	Little	Moderate	Substantial
Opportunities for independent study	29.5	32.6	37.1	34.4	28.9	36.8
Faculty teaching	20.6	55.7	23.7	10.6	44.7	44.7
Faculty research and/or Scholarly writing	70.3	21.1	7.8	62.4	29.0	8.6
Interaction with administrators	62.6	22.9	14.5	78.0	14.8	6.8
Academic Community-Informal						
Speakers sponsored by academic Departments of the University	42.9	39.1	18.0	40.0	46.9	13.1
Speakers sponsored by political (black) organizations on campus	9.8	42.9	47.4	35.1	44.5	20.4
Intellectual stimulation from Student peers	16.5	47.4	36.1	13.0	43.5	43.5
Social Life on Campus						
Events and entertainment sponsored By student government	76.7	19.5	3.8	35.8	44.1	20.1
Social events sponsored by (black) Campus organizations	19.6	40.5	39.2	43.3	41.7	15.0

by issue-oriented or political organizations on campus," while black respondents answered an item which read, "Speakers sponsored by black campus organizations." A little better than forty percent of both samples indicated moderate benefit from such student initiated events, but blacks were far more likely to indicate that they received substantial benefit. This item, an indicator of the salience of racial issues in the black student environment of the late sixties, elicited stronger expressions of benefit than any other responded to by the black sample.

Two items relating to campus social life: events sponsored by student government, and events sponsored by other campus organizations, appear to index trends in campus social life at NU during the late sixties and early seventies. This was a period of declining membership in NU's predominantly white fraternities, along with a rise in the incidence of students living off campus. Those who lived on campus were less segregated by gender. Among black students there was an important counter-development: the proliferation of cultural and social organizations. As formally organized social life among whites became more individualistic, and less collectively coordinated, social life among blacks became more collective.

A majority of white respondents feel that both kinds of events were of moderate or significant benefit, yet the percentages (35.8% and 43.3) who felt that they derived little benefit are quite large. Survey data collected by the University Department of Planning from NU undergraduates in 1965, 1968, 1970, 1972 and 1974 show that this sizable indicator of alumni dissatisfaction with NU social life is consistent with similar indicators gathered from undergraduate samples. Since 1965, NU undergraduates are less convinced that "it's important socially to be in the right club or group," that "student parties are colorful and lively," that "big college events draw much student enthusiasm," or that "everyone has a

lot of fun at this school."

Black alumni respondents declare even less benefit derived from entertainment and events sponsored by student government, but in sharp contrast to the white respondents, they are very convinced of the benefit derived from social events sponsored by student groups on campus. The reason for the contrast is that black students are responding to a question which asked them to rate the benefit derived from events sponsored by black campus organizations. Only twenty percent of the black respondents indicated little benefit.

Several control variables (indicators of respondents' status, attributes or campus experiences) were cross-tabulated with each of the benefit items to see if they influence the response patterns described. Control variables examined for both samples were: 1) parental education, occupation, and income; 2) gender of respondent; and 3) holding an elected office in either FMO (for black respondents), or other (for white respondents only) student organizations. Black respondents' "benefit" responses were, in addition, cross-tabulated by two other variables: 1) their indication that they either did or did not have the experience of living in a campus living unit designated for black students only; and 2) their undergraduate grade point averages (based on university transcripts). Tables for the following discussion are not included.

Much to our surprise, parental status indicators such as education, occupation and income failed to show even a moderate influence on (statistical association with) any of the questionnaire items dealing with estimates of personal benefit. In particular, the influence of such socioeconomic factors might have been expected to show up in responses to any of the items listed under "academic community-formal" as well as those relating to "intellectual stimulation from student peers." Surveys of student populations in general consistently show (Cross, 1971; Bowles and Gintis, 1977) that socioeconomic background influences

styles of academic learning and students' level of performance in academic settings. The lack of influence of socioeconomic factors in this particular area of our research suggests the selection effects of a Northwestern admissions policy which attempts to maximize similarity in students' orientation to academic success.

Items relating to "social life on campus" and the activism of black students are related (tables for the following discussion are not shown) to several of the control variables considered. Blacks who report that they lived some amount of time in an all-black living unit enjoyed black social life moreso than blacks who did not. For both white and black alumni, those who report that they were elected to office in a campus organization (an office in FMO for black respondents) were more inclined than non-officers to see personal benefit coming from activities sponsored by their respective organizations. Among white respondents, organization leaders were most convinced of the benefit of social events sponsored by campus organizations. Elected leadership within the black student organization, FMO, was even more convinced of the benefit they received from speakers sponsored by black campus organizations. Approximately 41% of other black respondents reported substantial benefit from such speakers, but nearly 69% of those reporting elected office in FMO gave this highest rating.

Former FMO leaders are most different from other black respondents in their rating of personal benefit derived from interacting with University administrators. Of more typical black respondents, 71% feel they derived little personal benefit from such interaction -- not unlike the 79.6% figure among white respondents. However, approximately 34% of reported FMO officers feel that they derived substantial personal benefit, and only 37.5% indicate little benefit in this area.

Finally, black alumni who were better students (those with averages above 2.75) are far more likely than other respondents, black or white, to report (29.7%) "little intellectual stimulation from student peers." It is not clear

whether these particular alumni are referring to black peers or are referring to NU students generally.

Better black students were slightly more impressed than others with opportunities for independent study and faculty teaching. With regard to independent study, 50% of the better students reported substantial personal benefit. While more impressed with faculty teaching (38.9% indicate substantial benefit) than the typical black respondent, better black students were typically less enthusiastic than many of their white counterparts.

Race And Association Patterns In The Undergraduate Years

Both the scholarly and popular literature pertaining to interracial association on predominantly white campuses in recent years describe the emergence of racial tension and separate spheres of association. This section of the report deals with race-related student associations, inter and intraracial. Data presented here differ from that presented in most reports about this topic. Much of our data concerns reports of actual behavior in the campus situation. Other data relate to subjective evaluations of these activities and contacts. First, we report the extent of respondents' involvement in several types of interracial association. Second, we report the extent of black respondents' involvement in social activities and political activism within the black student population. Finally, we look at respondents' post undergraduate statements about how collegiate experiences have influenced their interest in inter-acting socially with persons of the other race.

Interracial Contact In The Undergraduate Years

The Northwestern University that respondents entered in the mid- and late sixties had a tradition of recruiting socially and occupationally ambitious upper middle class white youth, who then typically segmented themselves into a highly status conscious fraternity-sorority system. Planning Department surveys since 1965 (the year prior to admitting more Catholics, Jews and blacks) show that undergraduate respondents have seldom agreed with the statement, "(This) school has a reputation for being very friendly." In 1965, only 13% of NU students sampled agreed; by 1970 the percentage "plunged" to 8%. In 1972 it rose to 16%, but in 1974 it was lower than ever - 5%. In brief, the black alumni who pioneered in the attempt to racially integrate Northwestern's social life entered a campus that was lacking in social integration among the various segments of white students.

Table X

Types and Extent of White-Black Contact in the Campus Situation (In percent)

	Race of Respondent	
	White	Black
Did not extend beyond class attendance	27.2% (69)	14.9% (22)
Included athletic competition with and/or against them	19.3 (49)	35.1 (52)
Included participation in student government	16.5 (42)	15.5 (23)
Included common membership in social organizations	16.1 (41)	8.8 (13)
Included common membership in (pressure) activist groups	9.8 (25)	2.7 (4)
Included occasional cooperation around class assignments	50.8 (129)	74.8 (110)
Included frequent attendance at the same parties	18.9 (48)	3.4 (5)
Included frequent visitation to the apartments or rooms of the other race	21.7 (55)	25.5 (37)
Included more than two dates with members of the other race	4.3 (11)	13.5 (20)

The overall pattern of the data are consistent with expectations for a good deal of racial separation in campus social life. Of all the types of interracial association surveyed, only class assignments involved an extensive amount of interracial activity. Apparently, white and black students' mutual academic priorities and a sense of pragmatism explain this interracial behavior.

The sizable percentage differences between whites and blacks on some of the interracial items invite easy explanations, but we must remember

that respondents are reporting their behavior -- not necessarily their attitudes. The fact that white respondents are almost twice (27.2%: 14.9%) as likely to report that their interracial contact did not extend beyond the classroom may be due as much to the race ratio of 10:1 as it is to racial attitudes (white and black). Even with Northwestern's sizable increases in black enrollment during the last decade, it is still enough of a predominantly white institution such that many white students can get through their daily routines with no more than the most cursory contact with blacks.

The smaller statistic for blacks (14.9%) indicate two things. First it shows that blacks on a white campus have less possibility of avoiding the more numerous whites. The black percentage also reflects sex differences in patterns of interracial contact. Of the 22 blacks reporting no interracial contact beyond class, only 3 were males. There was no difference, however, in the reports of men and women among the white respondents.

Sex differences among blacks with regard to interracial contact is further exemplified in interracial dating behavior. Although few blacks report a pattern of interracial dating, 17 of the 20 who indicated that they had more than two dates with members of the other race were males.

While it may be argued that black males at N.U. had more options for interracial associations than black females, other social influences are evidenced. Earlier studies have documented the aggressiveness of some white females in expressing their interest in interacting with black males (Pitts, 1975). Black females, however, did not express a similar interest in socially interacting with white males and furthermore disapproved of black males who interacted interracially. Black females generally declined dates with white males who expressed an interest. Although interracial

dating was generally discouraged within the black student community, it seems that there was less of a social stigma for black-male/white-female dating than there was for black-female/white-male dating.

Reports of interracial activity involving common membership in social organizations, activist groups, and attendance at the same parties run counter to what one might expect on the basis of demographic ratio. Since there are more whites than blacks on campus, one might expect that whites are less likely to report these kinds of interracial association. The pattern is quite to the contrary. Data collected in earlier studies of blacks and race consciousness at Northwestern offer some plausible interpretations. First, though blacks are equally as likely to report participation in conventional student politics, black support for activism and demonstrations has almost always been reserved for race issues advocated by a black student constituency. The four blacks who report interracial activist participation indicate, indirectly, both the types of issues which tended to capture black student interest, as well as the strength of the black solidarity norm which discouraged any competing interest.

Common membership in social organizations and frequent attendance at the same parties show the same pattern: blacks reporting less interracial activity than whites. Even if the smaller black percentage partly reflects the race solidarity norm among blacks, the larger white percentage poses an intriguing puzzle. Are the whites who report such interracial association largely refering to a very few blacks who were everywhere present as "tokens"? Does the larger white percentage mean that despite the race solidarity norm among black students, that a number of whites still had access to social affairs given by blacks? In posing such alternatives we reach the limits of our data.

Associations Among Blacks In The Undergraduate Years

This section of the report surveys the extent of black respondents' reported involvement in a variety of on-campus black activities. It is not generally appreciated that most black students coming onto predominantly white campuses are products of a minority experience characterized by an unusually high level of organized social activity. Ironically, scholarship designed to compare (Myrdal, 1944; Babchuck and Thompson, 1962) levels of voluntary association participation among black and white Americans typically has concluded that institutional life among blacks represents "social pathology" because it is more organized than expected. Specifically, when blacks and whites of similar socioeconomic background have been compared, blacks tend to be more involved in various groups. Gunnar Myrdal's American Dilemma argues the assimilationist perspective that all-black organizations are unlikely to persist where blacks are permitted to freely associate with whites. E. Franklin Frazier (1957) stands out as one of the few post World War II scholars who anticipated some black resistance to racial integration, suggesting that some might prefer their own organizations to the alternative of participating in associations controlled by whites.

Black students recruited into Northwestern in 1966 were generally open to exploring (Pitts, 1975) the possibilities of an intergrated living experience; but Northwestern in the late 1960's could not fulfill their optimistic expectations for full acceptance. In addition to their integration expectations that first cohort of black students (and those who followed) arrived with the taken-for-granted expectation that blacks are generally similar in background and that they can rely upon each other

for mutual acceptance, friendship, and dating relationships. Black alumni in this study have since come to acknowledge (sometimes grudgingly) some of the diversity in their backgrounds. Equally important, they have nonetheless managed to reproduce within the predominantly white campus many of the associational alternatives that exist within black communities across the nation.

Data to be presented are: 1) per cent membership in FMO; 2) per cent reporting participation in race-related activism in 1968, 1969 and 1971; 3) attendance at parties given by black students (as of 1972); and 5) the percentage who opted for all-black campus living units (a right temporarily won through the 1968 confrontation with University administrators).

Table X shows a similar pattern of percentages for reports of attending black student sponsored parties (usually given by FMO or one of the fraternal groups) and for reports of FMO membership. Given the importance of parties among youth, and the identification of "soul" music as black music, the high percentages for attending black parties is not surprising. What is surprising is the 90% (134 persons) who say that they considered themselves members of FMO. FMO has always attempted to speak for blacks as a whole in its dealings with administrators and nonblack students, but there never has been any canvas of blacks to substantiate FMO's constituency.

The high percentages for reports of participation in mobilizations against University administrators is of much greater significance. To report membership in FMO does not imply personal sacrifice (nor does it imply consensus or complete harmony among self-identified members). Mass demonstrations, on the other hand, always involve sacrifice of students' study and recreational time, and often considerable adverse pressures from parents, administrators and

TABLE XI

NU Black Alumni Reports of Undergraduate Participation in Black Student Organizations and Activism: Percent "Yes" By Grad. Year

Graduation Year	No. of Black Respondents	Black Student Parties	Member of FMO	Black Student Mobilizations 1968	1969	1971	(NCE) Black Choir	Black Folks Theatre	Black Student Dance Group	Lived in Blac Campus Housin
1970	35	88.2%	91.2%	85.7%	85.7%	*	*	*	*	57.1%
1971	29	96.4	96.6	89.7	89.7	*	21.4	*	*	67.9
1972	39	84.6	84.6	*	89.7	53.8	12.8	10.3	7.7	66.7
1973	46	84.8	91.3	*	*	69.6	21.7	35.6	20.0	71.1

Figures in this table were compiled from black alumni responses to several questions: (1) As an undergraduate, did you live in a residence which was designated as a black living unit? (2) As an undergraduate, did you consider yourself a member of For Members Only? (3) Following are three events which pitted much of the black student community against Northwestern University and some of its resident institutions. Indicate with an (X) whether you participated in the event specified.

A. The May 3, 1968 take-over of the Bursar's Office or the mass meetings leading up to it.
B. Demonstrations or the mass meetings surrounding the 1969 Triangle fraternity episode.
C. The 1971 Harris Hall gathering of black students and faculty to protest the speaking appearance of a South African MP (Member of Parliament).

(4) Activities Sponsored by Black Students (Indicate whether you participated)

A. Choir
B. Drama Group
C. Dance Group
D. Parties sponsored by all-black or predominantly black campus groups

* Indicates that very few, if any, respondents from that graduation year were present on campus at the time of this event or when this organization was operative. Northwestern Community Ensemble (the Black student choir), Black Folks Theatre (the Black student drama group) and the Black student dance group began to emerge as formal entities during Fall 1971 and subsequently.

students who are not demonstrating. An earlier study of NU black students documented the fact that 97 of 120 on campus in 1968 were directly involved in taking possession of the Bursar's Office (in order to bring administrators to the bargaining table). What the present data show is that there are also remarkably high percentages identicating participation in the 1969 and 1971 demonstrations. Only in the December 1971 event (after the two pioneer cohorts had left campus) is there an appreciable drop - to 54 and 70 percent - in participation reported by the graduation cohorts surveyed. By then the black student enrollment exceeded 500 persons!

By virtually any standards, the black alumni in this study represent an exceptional level of student political activism. The high level of participation in collective action is testimony to what constituted important issues among black students during these years. It is also testimony to the strength of mutual obligations among them then such that the more ideologically inclined black students were consistently able to mobilize most of the black student population.

Formally organized cultural activities are an example of how diversity among black students manifested itself in subcommunities. Alumni participation rates for the Black Choir, Black Folks Theatre, and the Black Student Dance Group are also presented in Table XI. These particular activities crystalized as formal entities during the 1971-72 academic year.

Percentages, ranging from 7.7% to 35.6%, show that these activities enlisted only a minority of the black alumni sample. This is not surprising. Each of these activities involves a distinction between audience and performers. This distinction is an important key to understanding how these activities fit the reciprocal needs of performers and other black students. A

significant number of black alumni had pre-collegiate experience as musicians, singers and actors. Some had professional ambitions. Performers need peer support and audiences. Many of these performers felt a need to perform material which pertains to black life and race issues. Their need to perform and relate to aspects of black American life complemented, the needs of non-performing black students. The black student audience wanted performances which portray slices of black life, either as they relish it, or as a set of dissatisfactory social relationships they hoped to transform.

The yearly pattern of participation rates in cultural activities suggests expanding involvement among those who followed. The data are very limited, but if one distinguishes between the 1973 graduates and those who graduated in 1971 and 1972 (between those who elaborate an organizational tradition and those who pioneered it), cultural activity among 1973 graduates is clearly more extensive.

Table XI's final indicator of racial association among black respondents in the campus setting is the percentage who report that at some time during their undergraduate years they chose to live in a campus living unit designated for blacks only. University provision of such housing arrangements, sometimes a dormitory, more often a separate floor or wing of a dormitory, was easily the most controversial of black student demands. The demand appeared on several predominantly white campuses in the late 1960's. Staunch racial integrationists of both races typically reacted to the demand for and creation of such units as counterproductive to both racial harmony and the learning experiences of white and black students. Nonetheless, strong black student pressure seemed to persuade some University administrations that those blacks who preferred to live with blacks only were entitled to such an institutionalized alternative. While NU

black students argued for the principle involved -- namely that blacks ought to have the same range of alternatives with regard to integration as whites it seems that University administrators were more concerned about the pragmatic issue, the possibility that some blacks would better survive the integration experience if allowed some racial insularity.

Between 57 and 71 per cent of our respondents report that they spent some amount of their undergraduate life in black campus housing units. Overall, this represents 97 of 149 (66%) respondents. Women were more involved than men. For women, the black units were Hobart House and a designated area in Northwestern Apartments; for men it was Goodrich House and a floor in North Shore Hotel. These data do not indicate how much of this strong pattern represents anti-white feeling, pro-black sentiment or just simply an inclination to live among one's close friends and those who are necessary for one's social life. Doubtless, some of each is involved. More important is the insight that this residential arrangement gives us about reinforcement of the network of interaracial associations we have been discussing. Regardless of the reasons that may have brought various respondents into black-only living units, the fact is that such an arrangement maximized the density of black <u>intraracial</u> interactions and the exposure of individuals to <u>intragroup</u> norms. Some of the black student population's monolithic cohesiveness during 1969 and 1971 crisis, despite increased numbers, is probably related to this residential arrangement which facilitated rapid and extensive communication and a compelling sense of membership in a community. Pressure from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare forced the University to close black living units in 1972.

Black and White Rooming and Diverging Paths

The greatest extent of interracial living arrangements occurred when entering freshmen were assigned to dormitory rooms. As many as 83% of black respondents report that they had at least one year of living with white roommates. In sharp contrast, the maximum percentage of whites reporting any black roommates was a little less than 10%. No doubt this disparity largely stems from the 10:1 ratio of whites to blacks. It also, however, indicates the typical sharp decline in interracial rooming patterns after the freshman year. Only twenty-eight blacks (19%) and three whites (1%) report more than one year of sharing a room with a person of the opposite race.

Whites' lack of roommate contact with blacks was a product of choices made by whites as well as blacks. We have seen that black respondents tended to invest their time and energy into political issues, cultural and social activities, and rooming patterns that effect racial encapsulation. A similar pattern of association developed among white respondents. Nearly half (47.8%) of white respondents reported membership in fraternities and sororities. All of the 99 whites who reported such membership were in what we would term "white" organizations. Blacks were less involved in fraternities and sororities (34%). Only one of fifty black respondents who were Greeks reported membership in a nonblack organization.

Desire For More Social Interaction With Persons of the Other Race

About two-thirds of both blacks (65%) and whites (68%) indicate that they have "about the same interest" in interacting socially with persons of the other race as they had before college. Of course, we have no objective and trustworthy way of measuring experiences and attitudes before college. Persons who gave this response (see Table XII) may have entered

college with indifferent, positive, or negative feelings about the subject.

Table XII

Response to: As a result of your undergraduate collegiate experience, do you believe you have

	White	Black
Less interest in interacting socially with persons of the other race	10%	33%
About the same interest as before college	68	65
More interest in interacting socially with persons of the other race	22	2
Total number of cases	(258)	(149)

The subjective character of responses reported in Table XII gives particular salience to the minority who do indicate awareness of a change in their feelings. Here, black alumni are clearly more disenchanted than white alumni. Only three blacks (2% of 149) expressed increased "interest in interacting socially" with whites, and 33% say that they have "less interest" as a result of undergraduate experience. In contrast, whites who indicate a change are twice (22%:10%) as likely to look forward to more contact with blacks.

All of the respondents in the survey were asked to provide more insight into their feelings on this subject. Most did not answer the request for, "additional comments you wish to make on the subject of "integration with..." (whites or blacks, as appropriate), but a sizeable minority (49 blacks and 106 whites) did so.

Encouraging persons to respond to such an open-ended question inevitably produces answers that are difficult to order into a single theme.

However both black and white alumni generally expressed personal disappointment in their interactions with each other. The black alumni seemed to feel that their white peers were insensitive and even insincere to the black students on Northwestern's campus. One black alumni notes:

#045
"1967-1971, blacks were thought of as "things" to be used at their utility, when it suited their needs. I was disappointed, generally, with the whites I met. I found them shallow, too rich, insincere, etc. Yet, I must admit they were better prepared academically and had a more confident approach to studies than the black students did. I got along well with Orientals."

Another black alumnus was more vehement in describing his undergraduate experiences with whites.

#049
"My tenure at N.U. probably made me more of a racist, because I got an opportunity to observe more closely what white people say and what white people do. And as far as black people are concerned the gap will never close."

Several white alumni perceived black students as less academically prepared than whites. They also appeared to resent black students' efforts to politically organize themselves on campus. According to one white alumnus:

#238
"I found the N.U. black students in my classes to be more interested in using "racial" jargon to get out of attending classes, taking finals, doing papers, etc. N.U. black students for the most part, were less motivated and generally less-prepared for undergraduate school work. Also, black students were heavily into "separatism". It was OK to have classroom black acquaintances, but black students tended to be deeply involved in the black student union."

Another respondent commented:

#269
"I enjoyed classes with blacks much less than classes in which there were none present. It seemed they were only interested in re-directing all discussions to Civil Rights and racism. Frankly, I grew weary of them "grinding their axe" in classes which I did not feel needed to center on their "slight". The blacks I observed in classes were too busy concentrating on "being black" to learn much of what was offered in the courses."

One white alumnus expressed strong hostility toward N.U. blacks as she reminisced:

#248
"I thought I was very open and liberal minded 'til running into a handful of N.U.'s "activist" blacks. The incident at Willard Hall in Fall '68 made me so mad I thought I was going to be a racist forever. I was ticked off that unqualified students (academically) were admitted to N.U. because they were black. To tell you the truth, I hated the militant blacks at N.U. But there were other people (other blacks) that I had as friends whose friendship continually reminded me that there's always rotten apples in every basket. But I often needed reminding. N.U. is definitely not representative of the world!!"

Contrary to the view expressed above, several black alumni suggested that "N.U. was representative of the world", and that their interracial undergraduate experiences helped to prepare them for life after college, particularly in their work settings.

#001
"I felt the little interaction I had in college helped me in having to interact now with whites on a social and business basis."

#014
"What is there to say that wouldn't take pages to say. My rule is that with extreme care on my part I can get along in a white setting, but the strains would be great. Occasional individual friendships are the rule but are few. Interactions on a job may be a little easier."

#103
"I'll interact with whites on almost any level as long as it is for business purposes. N.U. taught me a great deal about them. I do think they are worth knowing and dealing with, but you have to set some definite limitations."

One black respondent characterized his N.U. interracial experience as "a necessary evil which must be suffered if one is to ever have a full grip on the magnitude of the 'problem'." There were, however, some black alumni who felt that the Black student community and FMO unduly inhibited their interaction with whites and/or interfered with their learning how to effectively deal in this society. According to one black respondent,

#074
"There was (and probably still is) a definite yet undefined pressure emanating from FMO (or rather the nucleus of people that keep the organization functioning) to limit interactions with whites to a minimum. I always maintained this was good. However, I disapprove of the isolationistic tactics used against those who interacted with whites."

Another respondent was more critical of blacks at N.U.

#068
"Part of 'making it' is learning to deal realistically with whites. N.U.'s black community, while I was there, failed at this and, through that failure and adverse peer-pressure, inhibited others, like myself, from fully learning the 'deal with for gain' game."

It seems that the black alumni tend to assess their interracial experiences at Northwestern in terms of their relative value in facilitating their "success" in a white controlled world. White alumni, on the other hand, generally assessed their interracial experiences in terms of their gaining increased understanding and appreciation of black people or the complexity of race relations in general. The following comments are representative of those expressed by several white respondents:

#210
"I sometimes found it confusing to relate to some blacks in various contexts. When we were relating one to one, we often had good rapport; but when I run into the same person with a group of his/her friends, that person's reaction would be colder and more distant, sometimes to the point of ignoring me. I came from a small town with no blacks and, as a result, had little contact. I found many non-blacks who'd heard or read (or by some other means had learned) about the black experience. A lot of us wanted to, but weren't sure how to, relate. I think it takes time, effort, and understanding on both sides to establish interactions, but I found it worth it."

#310
"My black roommate was quite a shock - militant, poor, not the good friend I expected to have. We basically went our own ways. I knew her friends but not well. Peaceful coexistence. We gained a certain amount of respect for each other's races that year, that came from living together and getting to know each other."

#299
"My ambivalence has its origin in the fact that while some of my experiences with blacks were disappointing, I have learned how important it is to try and interact more with blacks on a conscious level, even though I know personally I harbor some bitter feelings."

#256
"I have come to appreciate, respect, and more realistically enjoy the Black Culture to a much greater degree after graduation. My wife and I enjoy Black Plays such as 'Don't Bother Me...' and Soul music is our favorite. We watch and enjoy most Black shows on T.V. Blacks are great people!"

In their efforts to understand the limited interactions they had with blacks at N.U., several white respondents offered the following explanations:

#250
"There are cultural differences that sometimes restrict close friendships, but casual interactions in large groups is easier."

#319
"Blacks were too busy discovering their own identities to care about interaction with white students as people - as a general rule - with exceptions of course. I suspect that was common to a certain period in our history - and was needed. Now, in a calmer environment, more person-to-person contact is possible.

Summary Assessment

The sharply divergent black-white appraisals of interracial contact have to be understood in terms of campus experiences which categorically distinguished black undergraduate careers from that of whites. Blacks were attempting to gain personal acceptance in a social environment where fraternal membership was the medium of student expression, and white skin, wealth and WASP attributes were highly esteemed. This situation also existed for our white respondents, but there were categorical burdens unique to blacks. Only blacks were considered to be completely outside the status system. Only blacks were categorically perceived as inferior. For instance, white students are never labeled "unqualified" to be at Northwestern -- even when they flunk out! Black students were widely perceived by white peers and some faculty as "unqualified" -- whether they were on academic probation or not. Their widespread reliance on loans and government-funded work-study jobs to supplement tuition resources tended to reinforce the popular notion of "unqualified" students.

Blacks were typically ignored and avoided in face-to-face nonacademic settings. Many white students (and campus neighbors) were visibly annoyed by the presence of clusters of blacks in their lounges, cafeterias, and

recreation areas. Integration of the races means that almost all blacks, but relatively fewer whites, have to bear the discomfort of sustained interaction with persons who disagree with one's fundamental assumptions about life. In such an "intimate" setting black and white often learn to resent elements of the other's behavior, background and beliefs because acceptance of such often involves accepting an unflattering challenge to one's own background and beliefs.

Black alumni often learned that many whites believe that blacks are not handicapped by white oppression -- that blacks themselves are largely the cause of their lower incomes and segregated schools and neighborhoods. The presence of blacks at N.U. was often pointed to as an indicator of white benevolence. They learned that most whites do not believe they personally are involved in any way in black disadvantages. They learned that they were expected to "qualify" for white acceptance, but not be "too pushy" about seeking that acceptance. Paradoxically, they also learned that blacks visibly clustering together produce embarrassment and resentment among some whites whose expectations for racial integrati insist on the dispersal of blacks.

Whites in interracial rooming assignments also frequently learned things that made the experience less than pleasant, but their experiences appear to have been more varied than blacks. For many whites this was their first face-to-face contact with persons who questioned the fairness of American institutions, their first contact with people who were capable of becoming angry about perceived injustices to blacks. Whites whose parents had often sought economically homogeneous suburbs and school systems found out that racial integration also meant association with students whose socioeconomic status, taste in popular culture, and language were the epitome

of what they had been protected from. Moreover, blacks began to respond to upper middle class white ethnocentrism and condescension with a militant ethnocentrism of their own. Not only were whites sometimes (after 1968) insulted, but from the perspective of whites, the aggressive black behavior seemed unprovoked.

A number of whites tried to relate to blacks as if race should not influence associations. There was also a small number who were attracted to blacks for ideological reasons or exotic associations. Few were completely able to escape the anger that was developing among blacks forced to grapple with a white-oriented institution.

Despite a tremendous increase in their undergraduate numbers, blacks enrolled in N.U. in the late sixties and early seventies arrived at an accomodation with the white campus environment that has important similarities to that which functioned for N.U. blacks in the late fifties and the first half of the sixties. In 1965-66 Northwestern had only 26 black American undergraduates, 20 of them males supported by athletic scholarship. Daily Northwestern interviews with a number of them during late Winter quarter 1966 indicated that they were socially "invisible", i.e., the norms and practices of campus life were carried out as if black students did not exist. Black students of the pre-1966 era and those whose comments are collected here both came to regard Northwestern as an arduous but necessary and temporary sacrifice for career mobility. They learned to look to themselves for primary relationships of full acceptance and moral support.

The primary difference between the modes of black student involvement in Northwestern in the two eras is that blacks of the post-1966 era, our respondents, came to insist on becoming a visible and legitimate part of undergraduate institutions. Prior to 1966 Northwestern blacks pursued most

of their social life off-campus where it did not constitute an affront to white norms and self images. In both eras blacks have had individual friendships with some white students and even occasional fraternal membership, but only in the more recent period have blacks emerged as a visible community of institutions and corporate interests.

Despite the conflict and frustrations reported here there are encouraging signs. First, there is the tendency of many respondents, black and white, to appreciate that their frustrations are in some way a product of a setting and historical era. They vary in the extent to which they explain the frustration in terms of "bad people" or in terms of average people in a sociologically difficult situation. The most important thing is that most persons see their future interracial contacts as manageable.

Second, and corrollary to the above, it is clear that black respondents are still committed to doing whatever is necessary to get more resources and legitimacy for themselves and other blacks. Their seemingly narrow commitment to the instrumental aspects of race and class integration does little to nurture the most idealistic images of the harmony that that process ought to involve. It serves, however, to focus everyone's attention on the group equity considerations that must remain paramount if interracial harmony is to be achieved.

Post Graduate Schooling For Northwestern Alumni

It long has been assumed that graduation from the more selective universities facilitates better jobs and career success, but in recent years additional training in graduate and professional schools has also become important for sorting young adults into the more desirable socio-economic positions. Accordingly, in this section of the report we want to look at trends in advanced preparation among our alumni. Does post graduate schooling sort black and white alumni into two very different levels of labor market qualifications: professional and non-professional?

In Search Of A Higher Level of Certification

Enrollment into post graduate schools is a selective process. It involves an interaction between self selection on the part of applicants and the selective criteria that post graduate programs apply in the admissions process. High undergraduate grades probably encourage a student to apply for graduate and professional training. With the exceptionally high grades that prevailed among white students at NU during the late 1960's and early 1970's and their generally high status family backgrounds, we would expect that the great majority of white respondents would seek post graduate training. Indeed, an NU Department of Planning survey (1974) of graduating students shows that 58% planned to continue their education in the Fall, and only 6% planned to do so on other than a full time basis. But what should we expect of graduate enrollment among black respondents?

Other research (Watley, 1971) indicates that black undergraduates are generally more inclined than their white counterparts to report aspirations for graduate training. We also know that in the late 1960's and early 1970's professional and graduate schools began to demonstrate interest in recruiting the better students from racial minority backgrounds.

Table XIII A

Percentage of Respondents Reporting Post Graduate Schooling By Race and Gender

Whites		Blacks	
Males	Females	Males	Females
78%	55%	64.8%	66.4%

Total percentage by Race:
64.8% (166) 66.4% (99)

Table XIII B

Vocational Field Studied During Post Graduate Schooling By Race of Respondent (In %)

Fields	Whites	Blacks
Education, Social Services, Ministry	16.1% (26)	21.0% (21)
Medicine, Law	26.7% (43)	28.0% (28)
Humanities	14.3% (23)	9.0% (9)
Physical Sciences	5.0% (8)	6.0% (6)
Behavioral Sciences	16.8% (27)	22.0% (22)
Journalism	7.5% (12)	5.0% (5)
Management - Business	11.2% (18)	8.0% (8)
Vocational - General	2.5% (4)	1.0% (1)
Total	100% (161)*	100% (100)*

Not Ascertained : 6 cases

*Each sample has one respondent who reports two training fields.

Black-White comparisons in Table XIII A show virtually no difference in the overall post graduate enrollment patterns. Approximately two-thirds of each group continued their schooling after college. Nonetheless, there is an obvious and intriguing difference in the composition of black and white enrollment patterns: among blacks, there is no gender difference, but among whites there is a sizable gap between the 78% reported by males and the 55% reported by females.

It is not possible to infer how much of the "sexist" pattern among white respondents is due to their own acceptance of norms that encourage males and females to have differing levels of aspiration and how much is due to outright discrimination against white women. For two reasons a sex role explanation is worthy of consideration. First, research on academic performance (Boocock, 1972) shows that females, white and black, frequently match or excell the grade point performances of males, but generally aspire to lower levels of educational and occupational achievement. Second, the family backgrounds of white NU respondents shows that better than 50% of their mothers were housewives. This is in spite of the fact that nearly 60% of these mothers had "some college" or higher levels of education. By way of contrast, black respondents' families typically involved two working parents. Slightly more than 50% of black mothers had more than 12 years of schooling. With 69% of the black respondents reporting a mother in the labor force, it's reasonable to assume that black alumni have been less exposed to a sex-typed image of how a woman ought (not) to use her formal education. This may help explain why black females in our sample are as inclined as black males to pursue post graduate schooling.

A look at the professional and graduate fields (Table XIII B) entered by respondents again shows an overall similarity between white and black patterns. In no instance are the figures for blacks and whites more than five percentage points apart. The significance of this similarity is two-fold. First, it indicates that despite substantial differences in family income and parental education this sample of NU's recent black and white white alumni manifests very similar occupational inclination. It is not possible to infer how much of this similarity in choice of fields reflects career aspirations developed prior to college and how much reflects aspirations learned during the college years.

A second dimension of significance derives from the fact that black respondents are <u>not</u> overly concentrated in the fields of elementary and secondary education, social work, and the ministry. These three fields have traditionally recruited a high percentage of black college graduates and holders of advanced degrees. Charles Johnson's 1932 survey of Negro college graduates (1938:92-130) indicated that, "A constant and overwhelming number of these graduates go into the field of education. Of 7,663 professionals in the total distribution, 52.8 percent are elementary or high school teachers. Another 682 (8.9%) of the professionals counted were college teachers and school principals." (p. 125) The traditional pattern undoubtedly reflects the outcome of racial constraints on black ambition. Until the past decade relatively few black graduates were allowed to participate in the same labor markets as whites, i.e., blacks going to college were generally moving toward economic roles that serviced the black population under de jure segregation.

Northwestern black respondents who report graduate school attendance

are actually somewhat ahead (Table not shown) of their white counterparts in attaining the most prestigious degrees, i.e., those beyond the Masters. There is little difference between the samples in the total percentage of advanced schoolers who report attainment of advanced degrees; but among such degree achievers 25.5% of blacks report attainment of the J.D., D.D.S., M.D., or Ph.D. degree. Only 16.6% of white advanced degree achievers report attainment of the most prestigious degrees. Given the high cost of pursuing graduate and professional degrees, it might seem odd that NU's recent black alumni are advancing to the highest levels of certification at a rate that slightly exceeds that of their white peers. The parental incomes of white Northwestern graduates typically exceeds that of black graduates by a clear margin, and white NU graduates also typically had higher undergraduate grade point averages.

The explanation probably lies in two factors. First, it stands to reason that these black graduates are among those minority persons most sought after by graduate and professional programs. Only several years ago they were identified as among the very finest black high school students. They were recruited into elite universities, and assisted with financial aid. Questionnaire responses support the idea that many NU black graduates, in attending graduate and professional schools, are still benefiting from "sponsored mobility," i.e., institutions' efforts to recruit minority talent and make it possible for that talent to acquire expensive training. Exactly 54% of these black respondents answered "yes" to the question, "Was your admission to any of the listed schools influenced by your minority status?" Similarly, 49.5% said that they received financial aid based on minority status.

A second factor that perhaps contributes to black alumni moving rapidly toward the highest degrees is their general perception that their opportunities are tenuous and still subject to "tokenism" and shifts in political priorities among whites. Despite the evidence of educational sponsorship mentioned above, 69% of black respondents who have had advanced schooling still answered "yes" to: "Did you observe or personally experience racial prejudice or discrimination against blacks on the part of the administration or instructors at any of the schools you listed?" While the majority of all black respondents feel that job opportunities are increasing for black college graduates generally and that they have better opportunities than blacks educated at less prestigious schools, only 25% feel that their opportunities are greater than those of white peers who graduated from NU or even whites who graduated from less prestigious schools. Throughout black questionnaires are many scattered and unsolicited comments to the effect that they sense considerable resistance to their advancement. Part of black alumni's high level of persistance toward the highest degrees may then reflect the belief widely held among blacks that they must be "overly qualified" in order to get equal rewards from white institutions.

Job Market Entry and the Politics of Inequality

This section of the report addresses the question of how well recent Northwestern graduates are faring in the job market. More specifically, are black graduates starting off in the job market with positions and incomes that are similar to those of their white Northwestern peers? We will present a variety of indicators relating to race and economic participation: 1) the percentage who have held full-time jobs since college; 2) the number of jobs typically held; 3) the percentage reporting unemployment since college; 4) the relative status of first jobs held; 5) relative income of first jobs: 6) the racial composition of the workplace for black respondents' first jobs; and 7) items indicating perceptions of discrimination and preferential treatment in the job market.

Interpretations of these data must be cautious. There are several reasons for this. First, Christopher Jencks' (1972) notable book on career achievement among white males, Inequality, shows that there is little relationship between level of academic performance in college and the level of income achieved in careers after graduation. To the extent that this is true generally for college graduates, the relative academic achievements of respondents while at Northwestern would give us no clue about what to expect after graduation. For whites and blacks, inputs that make for career success may be discontinuous with those that made for academic success. Second, it cannot be assumed that the job market experiences reported here are representative of those for other recent college graduates, black or white. These respondents are among higher socio-economic and academic ability clusters for their respective racial

populations. The extent to which their initial job market experiences mirror those of other recent graduates is an empirical matter that is beyond the scope of this study. Finally, the youth of respondents and their inclination to seek advanced degrees should remind us of how little certainty there is in projecting the trajectory of their respective careers.

Comparisons of Selected Job Market Experiences

Table XIV shows that White and Black respondents are virtually the same in the percentages (roughly 75%) who report that they have held full-time jobs since college. They are also quite similar in the percentages (28.6% for Whites, 27.3 for Blacks) who report some unemployment since college, and the typical duration of that unemployment. Most of those who report unemployment have been so only once, and then typically for less than four months. Among those reporting unemployment, however, Whites are twice as likely to report two or more instances of being unable to find a job. Perhaps this is related to White respondents' tendency to be more mobile in the job market. As many as 51% of Whites but only 38% of Blacks report holding two or more jobs since college. Black alumni are somewhat more likely to report holding a job at the time of the survey (65.8% for blacks, 57.0% for whites), but White alumni already exhibit more movement between jobs.

Table XIV

Selected Job Market Experiences (Percentage Answering "Yes") Compared by Race

	Whites	Blacks
"Since your bachelor's degree have you held any full-time jobs?" (at least 3 months, but neither summer jobs nor internships)	73.5%	76.5%
"Are you presently holding a full-time job?"	57.0%	65.8%
"How many full-time jobs have you held since graduation from college?"		
Number of Jobs		
One	49.2%	61.9%
Two or More	50.8%	38.3%
Number Who Report They Have Yet To Take A Job	(60)	(29)
Number of Reported Job Holders Who Did Not Answer The Question	(9)	(2)
Percentage of Respondents Answering "Yes" to		
"Since you graduated from college have you been unemployed? (unable to get a job)"	28.6%	27.3%
Number of Times Unemployed (Among Those So Indicating)		
Once	63.2%	81.3%
Twice or Three Times	36.8%	18.8%
Median Number of Months Unemployed (Among Respondents Indicating Unemployment)	3.5	3.4

Where The First Jobs Are

Segregated in business opportunities and largely excluded from skilled labor, for at least the first three decades of this century the growth of black professional jobs heavily depended upon teaching opportunities associated with expanding student enrollment under a legally segregated school system. Since World War II, diversification of employment among black college graduates has been primarily based on expansion of the public sector and successful electoral and civil rights pressure to remove color barriers in federal employment. Recent studies (Althauser, Spivak and Amsel, 1975; Freeman, 1977) continue to show that college educated Blacks, particularly women, are overly represented in government employment. With these trends in mind, we are interested in three questions: 1) how do recent Northwestern black alumni compare to their white peers in public/nonpublic sector job distribution; 2) how does the public/nonpublic job distribution of these black alumni compare to that reported by similarly recruited and educated blacks interviewed in the late 1950's; and 3) are recent Northwestern black alumni primarily employed in predominantly white or black work situations.

Table XV shows that recent Northwestern black graduates are clearly more dependent on government employment (39.7% versus 24.7%) than are their white alumni peers. However, Table XV also shows that NU's recent black graduates are much more represented in the private sector than were black graduates surveyed by Kenneth Clark and Lawrence Plotkin in the late 1950's. The 1950's cohort of black graduates is an appropriate

comparison because they were similarly tabbed for academic potential by the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS), an organization which "functions to help qualified students gain admission to and financial assistance at interracial colleges (Clark and Plotkin, 1963:12). Less represented in the private sector than their white alumni peers, the black alumni in this sample nonetheless hold private sector jobs at better than twice the rate of college educated blacks surveyed fifteen years before. Other data in this study show that black male alumni are somewhat ahead of black females in private sector employment.

Table XV

Economic Sector of Black Alumni Jobs for Clark-Plotkin (1963) and Pitts (1974) Black and White Samples (in percentages)

Economic Sector	1963[a]	1974[b] Black	1974[b] White
Government	62.9% (205)	39.7% (46)	24.7% (46)
Nonprofit	19.0% (62)	19.0% (22)	23.1% (43)
Profit-Oriented	18.1% (59)	41.4% (48)	52.2% (97)
Total in labor market	100.0% (326)	100.1% (116)	100.0% (186)
Number of respondents who do not report labor market participation	183	33	72

a These figures result from my reworking of the Clark and Plotkin data presented on their page 41. Their original calculations understate the percentages in each of the three sectors (40.6% for government, 21.1% for "semi-public", and 11.5% for private enterprise) because they base the percentages on all 509 respondents. Since they indicate that 35.8% of all respondents did not indicate labor market participation at the time of their survey, it was possible to determine the base (326) used in this table.

b Data presented here are based solely on my respondents' first jobs. Clark and Plotkin report data for jobs held at the time of their survey, but indicate that the type of work and kind of employer are no different for those holding second and third jobs. (pp. 42-43)

Black respondents' answers to the question, "what percentage of your work associates were/are black?" leave little doubt that most (table not shown) work in predominantly white settings. Seventy percent acquired first jobs in which 25% or less of their associates were black. This is even more pronounced (84.1%) for those who work in profit oriented enterprises. In fact, only 12 of 110 (11%) eligible to answer the question (8 in government, 2 in nonprofit, and 2 in business jobs), report working at jobs in which more than 75% of their associates are black. At the opposite extreme, 20 persons (18%) report that they are the only blacks working at their level of employment.

Status of First Jobs and Starting Pay

The serious recession of the 1970's (which maintains depression circumstances for many minority families) did not prevent Northwestern's recent black alumni from attaining first jobs comparable in status to those attained by their white fellow graduates and at starting salaries that were generally similar but often higher than those reported by their white peers.

Table XVI

Status of First Jobs for Northwestern Alumni by Race (In Percent)

Status Rank of Typical Jobs Reported	Race of Alumni Respondents	
	Blacks	Whites
1. Physicians, professors, physicists	9.6% (11)	10.1% (19)
2. Lawyers, dentists, bankers, psychologists, architects	4.3% (5)	10.1% (19)
3. Natural scientists, mathematicians, elementary and secondary teachers, engineers, social scientists, TV stars	73.0% (84)	55.3% (104)
4. Athletes, recreation and social workers, librarians, musicians, purchasing agents, bank tellers, accountants, business executives, insurance adjusters, secretaries, craftsmen	10.4% (12)	14.9% (28)
5. Entertainers, truck drivers, cashier in a store	2.6% (3)	5.3% (10)
6. Taxi drivers, childcare worker, bartender, door to door salesperson	----- ----	4.3% (8)
	100.0% (115)	100.0% (188)

Jobs listed in Table XVI represent some of those often reported by Northwestern alumni. Jobs are ranked on a status scale of 1-5, an adaptation derived from occupational prestige scales that sociologists (Sampson and Rossi, 1975 have developed from surveys of the American population. Respondents reporting a first job that is conventionally considered to be very low in prestige were given a score of "6". Those reporting jobs to which citizens typically accord the greatest prestige were given a score of "1". As one might expect, the majority of respondents, show up in ranks 3 and 4, with 3 being the most numerous by far. A college degree is often expected of people entering the jobs in number 4, and it is typically a requirement to enter those listed in number 3.

The relative overrepresentation of whites in jobs ranked 5 and 6 is mildly surprising, but hardly a useful indicator of so-called "reversed discrimination." Careful scrutiny of the few questionnaires that report lowly ranked jobs suggest that discrimination is too simple an answer for why nearly 10% of whites, but only 3% of blacks have worked at lower status jobs. For instance, a number of whites are at rank number 5 because they are pursuing a career in stage entertainment - a low status but glamorous and sometimes high paying set of activities that they prepared for while enrolled in Northwestern's nationally acclaimed School of Speech.

The exceptional representation of blacks at rank number 3 is largely explained by the fact that a little more than a third of the blacks receiving this rank were in teaching jobs - an occupation which is much less reported by white alumni. The minor differences between the black and white first job patterns then are at the very top, where white alumni have a

current edge, and at the bottom, where blacks are less represented in jobs such as day care worker, clerical help, stage performers, and manual labor. Few whites but even fewer black alumni start in jobs which are at the extremes of the status continuum.

Data in Table XVII show that early 1970's Northwestern graduates typically started at salaries between $5,000 and $11,000. This is about what one might expect for college graduates, most of whom either work full time while getting advanced degrees or who finish the degrees before working. However, males of both races are noticeably overrepresented at $11,000 and above. In fact two black males, one with a mathematics major, the other with undergraduate and graduate degrees in a physical science, report the highest starting salaries (above $17,000) in the study. The next highest starting salary reported by a black alumnus comes from a professional athlete.

The largest representation of whites is for the $5,000-$7,999 interval; for blacks it is the $8,000-10,999. Whether this is a gap of several hundred dollars or of more than a thousand is difficult to say because our income categories are fairly gross. Some of the black advantage in starting salary is doubtless due to their appearance in professional job markets at a time when affirmative action pressures placed a premium on hiring a minority person.

Table XVII

Starting Annual Pay for Northwestern Alumni By Race and Gender (In Percent)

Starting Annual Pay For First Job	Blacks			Whites		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Less Than $5,000	9.3%	7.0%	7.9% (9)	10.4%	15.3%	13.5% (25)
$5,000 - $7,999	16.3%	39.4%	30.7% (35)	41.8%	51.7%	48.1% (89)
$8,000 - $10,999	46.5%	45.1%	45.6% (52)	28.4%	28.0%	28.1% (52)
$11,000 - $13,999	20.9%	8.5%	13.2% (15)	14.9%	4.2%	8.1% (15)
$14,000 - $16,999	2.3%	-----	.9% (1)	4.5%	.8%	2.2% (4)
$17,000 - $19,999	4.7%	-----	1.8% (2)	-----	-----	
			100.0% (114)			100.0% (185)

Differences between typical salaries for white and black women alumni, however, serve to remind us of three factors mentioned earlier: 1) white female alumni are less likely to have immediately entered graduate and professional schools; 2) blacks are more likely to work for local, state or federal governments and; 3) in particular, black women are more likely to have become teachers. In the late 60's and early 70's teachers began to engage in militant collective bargaining, often resulting in starting annual salaries at between eight and ten thousand dollars. In sum, the difference in black-white starting salaries is weighted in favor of blacks, but the salary measure that we have is too imprecise to measure the difference in dollars. What advantage there is seems to be, in part, a product of blacks' greater representation in institutions that have a higher floor to starting pay levels. This raises interesting questions which this research cannot answer: 1) are NU white and black alumni attaching the same relative significance to matters such as starting salary, the status image of jobs, and job security? What are the significant social and personal factors that operate to effect <u>income disparity over a work career</u> among NU graduates, i.e., what will be the long-term significance of differences in first job starting salaries?

Race and gender discrimination in the labor market is a topic of considerable current interest. Such discrimination is not as apparent as it used to be. Some try to argue that it has been replaced by so-called reverse discrimination -- policies that disadvantage white males through providing unwarranted opportunities to racial minorities and white women. Statuses and initial salaries associated with alumni first jobs are generally similar for blacks and whites. Does this therefore

mean that NU's black alumni face no more discrimination than their white counterparts? Do white alumni now actually encounter more discrimination than their black peers? Alumni males typically have first jobs with somewhat higher salary than alumni women. Is there substantial indication that the difference is due, in part, to discrimination against the women?

There is, of course, no direct method for measuring the extent of discrimination that Northwestern alumni respondents may have encountered in the world of work. What we have to offer instead is respondents' beliefs about whether or not they have met discrimination in the labor market. Table XVIII presents the percentages answering "yes" compared by race and gender.

Table XVIII

Respondents' Beliefs That They Have Encountered

Bias In The Job Market, Compared By Race* and Gender (In Percent)

	Whites		Blacks	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
	15.5%	68.0%	60%	70%
Total Percentage By Race	49.2%		66.1%	
Number of Respondents Excluded Because They Have Not Sought Full-Time Jobs	(59)		(27)	

*White respondents answered this question: "In your opinion, have you met sexual or ethnic discrimination in the labor market either when you applied for a job or while you held one? (since college)"

Black respondents answered this question: "In your opinion, have you met racial discrimination in the labor market either when you applied for a job or while you held one? (since college)"

The contrast is striking. Few white males report meeting what might be termed "reverse discrimination", but a clear majority of black men, and both black and white women do believe that they have met discrimination since they have been in the labor market. The forms of the discrimination perceived by respondents and the relative validity of perceptions cannot be verified, but there can be little doubt that many female and racial minority alumni have begun to encounter ascriptive aspects of the labor market. Black respondents in the private sector are somewhat more likely to report discrimination than those working for government and non-profit agencies.

It is an open question whether ascriptive features of the labor market will effectively limit the career and future income possibilities for alumni respondents who are encountering discrimination. White female respondents' underrepresentation in professional schools and overrepresentation in lower status and paying jobs may be temporary. They have the academic performance profile such that should they seek professional training they have a high probability of acceptance by such schools. Effective affirmative action policies and a sustained emphasis on raising the occupational aspiration of women may still facilitate career options for women such as these recent alumni. For example, when black respondents were asked, "Do you feel that your race helped you get this job?", 61% of blacks in non-private sector and 72% of those in the private sector answered "yes". Despite the ability of some to get prestigious training and credentials, affirmative action pressures are still very much a factor in opening minority job opportunities.

In fact, the work opportunities of many black respondents seem to involve a contest between affirmative action policies and more traditional practices that tend to reinforce ascription. In closing this part of the discussion, we present a brief glimpse of that contest as experienced and reported by one black woman who works at a professional level in a major corporation.

> "Racism worked in my favor. I was closely watched, expected to be a failure and when I showed I was intelligent with a good education, this was noted and I benefited from it. I had a great deal of exposure quite unusual at my level, but I really felt there was an attempt at the beginning to get me to fall on my face but they failed. I was told later they thought I was a government spy testing equal opportunity employment."

DISCUSSION

Race Relations And Normative Conflict On Campus

Blacks have been integrated into the American economy for several hundred years. As a category of people, their disadvantage stems from the inequitable forms of integration imposed upon them. Intense black militance and extensive rioting in the 1960's encouraged public and private policies aimed at getting more blacks into more rewarding positions in society. Academically talented blacks were specifically sought for the campuses of highly selective universities. The hope was that this elite setting would maximize the possibilities for white acceptance of talented blacks, on campus and after graduation. The climate of race relations on campuses in the 1970's, however, continues to manifest symptoms of the generally unequal and conflictual relationship between whites and blacks in the United States.

In the final section of the report, we discuss the content of this normative conflict as it now appears at Northwestern. We begin with a discussion of the current ambience of Northwestern generally. It is our premise that NU campus race relations are greatly affected by the distinctive emphasis that a selective university gives to American achievement and status norms. This is followed by a discussion of the challenges involved in a racially heterogeneous campus.

The Northwestern Ambience

Highly selective universities in the United States embody conflict-

ing messages about status and achievement. One complex of images and norms derives from their deliberate patterning after European universities, universities originated in monastic scholarship but long associated with class privilege and exclusiveness. A counter set of images and norms reflects widely proclaimed ideals of the capitalist marketplace, i.e. openness of the social structure to individual achievement and status mobility. Students who enroll in a school like Northwestern become participants in this institutional ambivalence and it strongly influences all social relationships that evolve on campus, even race relations among students.

Students who enroll in Northwestern typically are attracted to both images of the institution. Most see it as an opportunity to achieve (or retain) upper middle class work options and even affluence. But they also hope to experience full acceptance into a community of peers, persons among whom there is a shared sense of elite status.

In the Golden Era, when Northwestern was an institution oriented primarily to White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, the fraternity-sorority system provided the principle locus of shared status or community among students. Upon graduation, Northwestern students expected to share the prestige of having graduated from an elite school. During the undergraduate years, however, student life was marked not by a common community, but by a number of competing social organizations whose norms expressed the status striving preoccupations of their membership. Blacks were outside of the competition, and Jews were only marginally accepted. Among whites there

was a highly developed status evaluation process in which Protestant faith, Aryan features (particularly in women), wealth and Western European ancestry were highly esteemed attributes. While fraternities and sororities were the prime agents in this caste-like system, they can also be seen as an adaptation to the intensely invidious campus environment. Fraternities and sororities traditionally provided many Northwestern students with predictable and supportive social networks designed to protect individual egos from the more insidious effects of everyday American prejudices and discriminations.

Predictable and supportive social networks among NU white students have declined in significance during the 1970's. Fraternal membership sharply declined during the late 1960's, a consequence of several things: 1) greater religious/ethnic heterogeneity among whites; 2) increased student criticism of fraternal bigotry; 3) increased numbers of white students receiving financial aid and working at work-study jobs; 4) increase in parietal hours, coed dorms, and student off-campus living; and 5) greater access to birth control and sexual opportunity. Together, these factors have served to reduce the pool of students who can afford fraternities and sororities, whose membership elevates or sustains the status of the organization, and who are willing to let student groups regulate their private lives. Sharply rising rents in Evanston recently have driven more students back onto campus, thereby making more of them candidates for dormitory and fraternal housing, but fraternities and sororities are now less able to provide the extent of control, social insurance, and esprit de corp that they once provided the individual student.

Grade inflation, rising tuition costs, and the tightening of the job market have served recently to intensify status and economic anxieties among the students in selective schools. For example, surveys of Northwestern undergraduates in the mid 1970's (University Department of Planning) indicate that the pressure of academic competition is higher than ever, but that students' feelings of social integration and a sense of well-being are relatively low. In classroom discussions as well as recent Daily Northwestern articles, NU undergraduates describe an environment that is extremely competitive and more "cold" than most would like. Students still enter the elite university with expectations for sharing a community of status with other talented persons, but the Social Darwinist implications of relentless academic and status competition effectively undermines many students' readiness to invest time or energy in personal and intellectual commitments which promise no direct payoff in high grades or references.

Even more relevant to our concern, many Northwestern students (including noticeable numbers of blacks) are now less involved with protest issues and less attuned to matters of social equity that appear to transcend their immediate self interests. Most Northwestern students, like those on campuses throughout the nation, are increasingly preoccupied with "making it." Once upon a time, students enrolled in the highly selective universities tended to feel that graduation from such a school, even with a C average, had a significant status and commodity value. In the 1970's, students often experience the same schools differently; not as affirmation of their elite capabilities, but as an endless competitive process in which nothing is guaranteed.

What implications does all this have for the quantity and quality of interracial association on campus? The implications are diverse. Some can be deduced readily from the above; others are paradoxical and more encouraging.

The current ambience of the campus shows how campus race relations are influenced by the s'zeable income gap between typical white and black family incomes: racial consciousness is mediated through class consciousness and vice versa. On a general level, competition among NU students for high grades and entrance to professional schools, plus the envy that some of the more affluent whites have of students eligible for financial aid (about 50% of the campus receives financial aid; source: Northwestern Parents Quarterly, June 1978) contributes to an environment where many students are worried that someone is taking something from them. "Reverse discrimination" ideology has become more evident in some white students' conversations, letters to the Daily, and sociology papers. There has been at least one unsuccessful attempt by a few white students to attack FMO through denying it student activity funds, allegedly because it does not want white members. Accordingly, many black students are apprehensive that white students may use the rhetoric of universalism to successful assault the institutional resources that butress black students' participation in Northwestern.

Paradoxically, while intraracial association is still clearly the norm, interracial association and communication now shows small but definite signs of increase. This can be seen on the interpersonal level in the casual exchanges of students working in cafeterias, and occasionally walking down Sheridan Road. Politically, it shows up in the recent pressure to persuade Northwestern trustees to sell South African stock.

The reasons for the slight increase in interracial contact among individuals include the general trend emphasized above: less social integration among students, particularly whites. Less social integration among whites also means the loosening of social control over those who are open to interracial friendships. Similarly, rapid growth in the size and diversity of the black student population reduces the effect of peer censureship among blacks directed at those who pursue white friendships. One dimension of diversity that promotes interracial friendships is the fact that some whites and many blacks have had racially integrated school or neighborhood experiences prior to Northwestern. A few of the blacks are even products of racially integrated families.

Parenthetically, many, and perhaps most, blacks who have had extensive earlier exposure to whites are nonetheless substantially involved with black peers. We have no quantitative measure of this, but talks with numerous such students make this a safe generalization. It appears that these black students have less apprehension that they will be accepted by whites and are less concerned with censuring blacks who maintain interracial friendships.

The persistence of race consciousness within For Members Only has been no less a factor in promoting recent interracial communication and cooperation on an organizational level. Insistent queries from Associated Student Government members during the 1976-77 school year encouraged FMO leadership to come before that forum to describe the institutional life that Northwestern blacks maintain. In 1977-78 this has been followed by communication directed at race conscious ends. Recently FMO has been persuasive in presenting the issue of University divestiture of South

African investments to representatives of ASG. A referendum among campus students shows considerable support for a program of University divestiture, and the Daily Northwestern has urged it. The Coalition to End NU's Investments in South Africa includes student representatives of FMO, New Chicago African Liberation Support Committee, Associated Student Government, African Students Organization, and faculty from both races (though mostly nonwhites). In late June Northwestern Trustees conceded to the Coalition's "request" that South African stock divestiture be studied.

It is unlikely that this interracial cooperation will result in a long standing coalition directing its attention to other social equity issues. For one thing, opposing overt assistance to the South African regime is becoming an easier thing for educated white Americans to do. Political developments in southern Africa have cost South Africa a good amount of legitimacy, and the content of its racial inequality system is becoming so transparent that many in the U.S. now find it morally repugnant. In contrast, racial stratification in the United States is far less transparent in its workings, and many persons feel little outrage or responsibility for it. Moreover, those other equity issues are likely to include affirmative action-reverse discrimination antagonisms in the United States.

The Challenges of Maintaining Race and Class Diversity at Northwestern

Northwestern's undergraduate population is now quite diverse. American blacks now comprise 10% of the enrollment, Catholics are about 13%, and Jews are nearly 25% of the student body. Despite the fact that blacks and whites frequently come from sharply different levels within the middle class, the

overall ambience of the campus is still distinctly upper middle class and achievement oriented. Maintaining this mix of students is a notable achievement for the University, but also a considerable challenge for its future. This situation of heterogeneity also involves distinct challenges for white and black students.

Northwestern's Challenge

Northwestern's initial steps in creating a heterogeneous student body required little in the way of a prophetic commitment to social equality. Between 1964 and 1968 minority pressure, first from Jewish civil rights organizations, then from enrolled black students, created the circumstances that pushed the University toward more progressive enrollment commitments. To the University's credit, timely changes in the Admissions Office during this period provided Northwestern with policy makers who were anxious to achieve ethnic, racial and class-origin heterogeneity in the student body, and who were attuned to how to use private and public resources to facilitate the mix.

Maintaining the current level of class, race and ethnic heterogeneity in Northwestern's undergraduate enrollment requires continuation of two policies that originated in the 1960's. First, the federal government and lending institutions must be willing to subsidize the educational experiences of highly capable students who elect to attend private colleges and universities. Second, Northwestern's administration must continue its commitment to helping to prepare a racially and ethnically diverse set of candidates for upper middle class status. Without either commitment, Northwestern's student body would quickly revert to the homogeneity and

parochialism that characterized the student body throughout most of the school's history.

In spite of the aforementioned sense of competition for financial aid, things could be worse. Were Northwestern to be appreciably more oriented to enrolling students who require no financial assistance, this would either result in fewer blacks or exacerbate class/racial friction on campus. Currently, the large numbers of middle class white students working and/or receiving financial assistance serves to reduce the welfare stigma associated with these necessities. Large numbers of white students feel a stake in the University's financial aid program because they benefit from it according to the principle of need and work-study options. If the program were based on race, or if Northwestern began to enroll even wealthier students, it is likely that the status gap would become more formidable and that race relations would noticeably deteriorate.

Black Students' Challenge

It is short sighted to think of black students as being a part of a singular integration process. Their behavior indicates that most are committed to two parallel processes of racial integration: 1) they are trying to move beyond quasi-political and economic constraints often facing blacks; and 2) they are attempting to achieve or maintain political and social integration among blacks despite considerable differentiation within that population. More succinctly, most black Northwestern students want what most families of white NU students already have -- upper middle class opportunities and resources, yet they also want to maintain and develop cultural, social and political relationships with other blacks.

Relationships among black students on predominantly white campuses amount to an on-going process in norm-making. The preference that many black students, particularly freshment and sophomores, show for involvement in black-run and oriented organizations can be understood, not so much as preserving cultural tradition, but as efforts to rework race-related expectations that they bring to campus from families and communities from across the country. Like the generations of educated blacks who preceded them (but under conditions of racial segregation), blacks at schools like Northwestern are collectively experimenting with the utility, possibilities and limits of race solidarity for those who will participate in desegregated settings. This process is likely to continue for many years to come.

Not every understanding produced in the intrarace process is of unquestionable value to blacks. The foremost example of this is the clumsy distinction that some black students attempt to make between "white values" and "blackness". The felt need for the distinction arises out of the fact that the upper-middle class, predominantly white campus is often a source of tension for black students. Through exposure to its norms many blacks begin to sense a fundamental conflict between the institutions and priorities of upper middle class life and their desire to destroy racial inequality as a system.

The "white values-blackness" dichotomy is an attempt to forestall the development of an ethnically divisive status identification among young, better educated members of the black middle class. The first denotes race dominance attitudes and actions, but also often is used loosely enough to

include any of the norms and actions seemingly prevalent among students from upper middle class white families. The term "white values" has been used to label such diverse things as prejudice against blacks, preference for artistic forms (the "serious" label applied only to European classical music) and performers (white rhythm and blues talent) that symbolize the subordination of African-American art and artists to whites, engaging in oral-genital sex, obsessive effort to get A's, playing bridge but not whist (the latter is a card game popular among blacks), skiing, and so forth. "White values" would be less threatening if no blacks were susceptible to them.

"Blackness" then is the oppositional stereotype to "white values," the affirmation of whatever is believed to be (or should be) prevalent among blacks, but less so among the white upper middle class. Moreover, much of "blackness" ridicules the norms of middle class life and romanticizes the "realness" and political consciousness of less educated and poor blacks. Some of the black males from lower white collar and blue collar families are particularly susceptible to a color dichotomy which ridicules the ideals of masculine achievement among the upper middle class (wherein much of aggression is channeled into pursuit of academic/occupational dominance) in favor of "macho" ideals which appear to be less defined by upper middle class whites.

Scholarship offers no serious quarrel (Geschwender, 1978; Walton, 1971) with the basic insight contained in the "white values-blackness" dichotomy: white and black collective interests often <u>are</u> in opposition, and white-run institutions too often <u>do</u> exploit or ignore blacks. The major problem with

the dichotomy is that it is a gross oversimplification that proves to be a detriment to those students who subscribe to it, and to many others in the black student community. The dichotomy: 1) fails to distinguish race norms from class norms among whites and how these reinforce and contradict each other; 2) fails to distinguish race consciousness (partisanship against race inequality) from reactionary feelings such as racism (partisanship on behalf of race dominance), prejudice, ethnocentrism, anti-intellectualism, personal insecurity, or envy (among blacks or whites); 3) sustains an inquisitory atmosphere among blacks that limits the development of both social and political sophistication; and 4) encourages black students to have unrealistically intense expectations concerning the array of aspirations and problems that can be resolved solely through race solidarity. This sometimes results in black students' subsequent disillusionment with each other -- a "Niggers ain't shit!" syndrome.

Fortunately, the day-to-day campus behavior of many black students belies the apparent irreconcilability of race integration and race consciousness. Racially conscious black students are increasingly involved in University opportunities that until recently were little used by blacks. In the past three years several have been participants in University programs that involve study in a foreign country. In the past two years several have served as resident assistants for campus dormitories, a paid position that involves counseling and leadership responsibilities with an integrated group of students. This past spring, a former treasurer in For Members Only ran unsuccessfully for the office of treasurer in Associated Student Government. These instances are important examples for the black community

because they demonstrate that purposeful use of the Northwestern environment is not necessarily incompatible with loyalty and service to the black student community.

A challenge for Northwestern black students is to maintain an environment wherein race consciousness is encouraged among persons involved in both aspects of the racial integration process. Overall, the contradiction between inter and intraracial integrations has proven to be a constructive one for black students. Blacks need to be even more supportive of each other, not in attempting to deny the contradiction, but in cultivating it for collective and individual benefit. The kind of black student community envisioned is one wherein:

1) black students are encouraged to develop tightly reasoned race-oriented perspectives on inequality issues and make sure that they are heard throughout the campus.
2) students are encouraged to study the norms and institutions of upper middle class life (starting with Northwestern itself). The objective is more than facilitating individual advancement. Blacks also need to learn the ways that such institutions butress social inequality, and what kinds of leverage they offer for attacking it.
3) black-oriented campus institutions continue to offer a context for mutual emotional support, but also encourage race consciousness in leadership, scholarship, and artistic development.

4) black students learn more restraint in the natural tendency of parties to an inequality struggle to insist on uniformity of in-group behavior and hostility toward all members of the out-group.

The contradictions between inter and intraracial integration are evident in the tension between these objectives.

White Students' Challenge

One of the most striking characteristics of race relations in upper middle class settings is most whites' insensitivity to how priorities, norms, and attitudes most prevalent there effect an overall ambience of race and class dominance. It shows up most clearly in this report in what white respondents do not report. What they do report is black actions, and their own reactions, positive and negative. What is rarely reported are the (white) behaviors, norms, and attitudes that constitute the parameters to interracial contact. White respondents typically take "their" normative atmosphere so much for granted that they are ill-equipped to comprehend or empathize with the alienation that many black students feel and express.

This is not to deny that many whites will insist that they are completely without prejudice toward blacks, e.g. "I'm color-blind." How much of this is accurate self assessment (as opposed to dogmatic ideology) is debatable. Recent experimentally designed field research using Northwestern undergraduates shows that there is considerably more racial hostility (and sexual attraction) among whites than is indicated in either overt discrimination or liberal self-reports (Hendricks, 1975). This quibble notwith-

standing, it is a fact that white students' personal identification with race superiority, like that of the white population generally (Schuman, 1975), is less than it was in earlier generations. Archie Bunker mentalities are not completely absent from university campuses, but particularly at higher status schools, they do not predominate. At Northwestern in 1978, white individuals and campus-wide organizations are more open to blacks than was the case in 1966.

What we are arguing is that too many whites are blind to the race and class messages conveyed in both institutional practices and instances of interpersonal behavior in nominally "color-blind" settings. Consider the status message conveyed in this integrated housing situation described by a respondent who has genuine contempt for the blatant prejudice of a less educated neighbor who decided to sell when blacks became a visible part of the community:

> "Everyone else is pretty happy with the make-up of the neighborhood. When we have talked about it, the whites say they would like the ratio (20%) to stay the same. Everyone thinks property values would go down if Blacks moved in and became a majority. At first, some whites said they thought the blacks might be more wild than they would have wanted, but this conception hasn't materialized so I haven't heard that comment anymore."

Noted urbanologist Anthony Downs (1973) refers to this as whites' concern to maintain "cultural dominance." Be that as it may, interracial social situations which appear (to blacks) to involve a priority on maintaining

white dominance, numerically or symbolically, tend to discourage black interest. Blacks' increased attention to racial pride has the consequence of sharpening their sensitivity to the norms that many whites take for granted. However, the prospects are not good for large numbers of NU whites coming to understand the norms they live by, if only because they are not under much pressure to re-examine them.

Northwestern whites also should take more initiative in learning about the character of black American institutions. The ideal mechanism for this is the curriculum taught by the African-American Studies Department. The primary objective ought to be gaining greater sophistication about the revolutionary implications of racial desegregation. Contrary to the expectations of many, racial desegregation is coming to mean far more than the incorporation of blacks as individuals. For many years to come, large scale incorporation of blacks into predominantly white institutions is also likely to bring in black perspectives, interests (race and class), and black-oriented institutions. The common assumption that most minority members are anxious to divest themselves of all previous social commitments and resources is both arrogant and politically naive. Continued ignorance of blacks as a normal and legitimate community of interests cannot help but compound insensitivity and disillusionment among whites and encourage black alienation.

Conclusion

The racial tensions documented here do not negate the "bottom-line" indicator that sponsored mobility can work: most black students are succeeding at Northwestern. Black respondents who entered in the late 1960's have generally made an excellent transition to post graduate programs and first jobs. This has not, however, been a transition into socio-economic

levels of society where race prejudice and politics are unimportant. Accordingly, for many black respondents, race consciousness has been legitimized. It's not that they won't work or live among whites. At the time of the survey, most did in fact work in predominantly white settings. The point is that they have found that desegregated settings nonetheless involve race and class inequality, and therefore, often intense individual and collective struggle.

In closing, it is instructive to reflect on the continuity in observations made by black persons whose situations are separated by more than a hundred years. The first is part of a speech made by Frederick Douglas, abolitionist and former slave, on the eve of the American Civil War. The second was made by a black woman Northwestern alumnus in 1974:

> "If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground... they want rain without thunder and lightening. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters... Men may not get all they pay for in this world, but they must certainly pay for all they get."

> "I personally feel the business world is considerably racist and changing slowly. However, I enjoy my work and I've made up my mind this is what I want to do so I'm determined to fight them to the end...It is always present on my mind that this country is cyclical. Blacks have been this far before but we could lose it and end up on the merry-go-round again."

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